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China

THE TRUTH ABOUT COMMUNISM IN CHINA

FOREWORD BY
HARRY McNEILL

PUBLISHED BY
WEST MEETS EAST COMMITTEE
115 MOTT STREET, NEW YORK, U. S. A.

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FOREWORD

In February, 1939, American Catholics were honored by the visit of Bishop Paul Yu-pin, Vicar Apostolic of Nanking, China. Brilliant young prelate, possessed of four hard-earned doctorate degrees, he came as an exile from his Vicariate by reason of the Japanese invasion of China. He came also as Special Envoy of the Chinese National Government Relief Commission. To quote His Excellency on the object of his visit: "I am sent, first of all, to thank, in the name of the Chinese Government, all the American organizations which have made contributions for the benefit of Chinese refugees. I am likewise to inform both the Chinese in America and the Americans themselves of the nature and the extent of relief work in China. I am, finally, to get in touch with organizations and persons who are generous enough to wish to help relief work in China. From this it can be seen that my present mission in America is in no sense political, but is devoted entirely to charity. Of course, I, in common with all the other Catholic bishops of China, am completely convinced that the Chinese cause is the just cause in the unhappy conflict which is devastating the Far East. And I consider it my duty to say this on any appropriate occasion and whenever I am asked."

It was on the occasion of the Bishop's visit that the West Meets East Committee was organized. It consists of a group of American and Chinese-American friends of China who were anxious to express more than verbal sympathy to the Chinese nation in distress. One of their efforts in this direction is the publication of the present pamphlet. It is written by an American whose long years in China make him speak with

authority. Since he writes it upon his individual initiative and responsibility, his superiors prefer that he remain anonymous.

Although American sympathies are overwhelmingly with the Chinese people in this their day of trial, nonetheless our country has been deluged with insidious propaganda that has not been without effect. This propaganda would paint the present Chinese Government as dangerously close to Soviet Russia, and Communistic in tendency. It is hoped that the message of truth here brought forth will clear away misinformation and misapprehensions, and awaken an efficacious desire among friends of justice to do something, no matter how small, to aid a great and suffering people.

HARRY MCNEILL.

New York, July 15, 1939.

The Truth About Communism in China

CHINA today is meeting the most severe national crisis in her long history. Never before has that great country lost such a toll of human life and suffered such devastating destruction of property; yet never before has she been more unified and consolidated as a nation. The great drama taking place in China is one of the most tragic yet the most inspiring in the history of mankind.

Japan has invaded China. She has bombed indiscriminately numerous undefended cities and towns. She has snuffed out the lives of more than a million Chinese and has driven thirty million others to wander over the vast expanse of the land, homeless, penniless, starving and lacking the barest necessities of life. China is a seething sea of suffering souls.

Despite the tragedy of the war and all its suffering, the Chinese people continue their heroic struggle for national independence and liberty. The Chinese have shown their firm resolve to resist to the last man. For what are they fighting? Not for an abstract doctrine or ideological principle, as the Japanese propagandists would have us believe. Not to preserve Stalin's safety behind the walls of the Kremlin, as Japanese inspired literature tries to teach us. The Chinese are fighting for their lives, for the lives of their wives and mothers and children, for their beloved land, for their national heritage and for economic freedom. Ask any Chinese, from the highest official of the Government to the humblest peasant whose sons have gone off to the war, and you will get the same answer.

If this is the worst of times for the Chinese, in a sense it is also the best of times. If this is the winter of despair,

close upon it is the spring of hope. For China today looks forward to the birth of a new nation.

Government Of the People, For the People, and By the People

In order to understand the new China, we must know something about the greatest Chinese of the twentieth century. He is Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, and national hero of the Chinese people. He formulated the famous Three Principles of the People. The first principle, National Independence, aims at establishing a government *of the people.* The second principle, Popular Sovereignty, aims at establishing a government *by the people.* The third principle, Common Welfare, aims at establishing a government *for the people.*

In working out these Three Principles, Dr. Sun was inspired and influenced by our great President Abraham Lincoln, who in his historic Gettysburg Address declared that the government of the people, for the people, and by the people should never perish from the earth. Thus the goal of the Chinese Republic is identical with our own, *the establishment of a free, independent, democratic government.*

Dr. Sun organized the Kuomintang Party, which overthrew the old monarchical regime and founded the New Republic in 1912. It has been the aim of this Party to put into practice the Three Principles of the People.

Dr. Sun died in 1925. Though his mortal body is dead, his memory lives on in the hearts of 450 million Chinese.

Chinese Leaders of Today

Providence has seen fit to place at the head of the Chinese nation in the present period of crisis a man strong in character, upright in spirit and imbued with deep religious convictions, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who has united China more than any other man in centuries of history.

General Chiang reads a text of the Bible every morning before he commences the day's work. Every afternoon, regardless of the pressure of other duties, he takes a half-hour for prayer and meditation. His favorite song is "Ave Maria" which he plays on the phonograph when he retires at night. John Gunther tells how his friends in the next room know he is asleep when the record stops. General Chiang quotes liberally from the Bible in his speeches to the nation.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek, talented, charming, brilliant wife of the Generalissimo, taught him the rudiments of Christianity during the early days of their married life, which led him to adopt Christian principle as the guiding spirit of his life. She is an invaluable aid to her husband and is oblivious to personal danger in her varied activities throughout her war-torn country.

General Chiang symbolizes the spirit of national unity. His moral strength and his intellectual leadership have brought about a unified China. As present leader of the Kuomintang Party and Commander-in-Chief of the national armed forces, he is directing the war of resistance against foreign invasion.

The personal lives of General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek are an open book to the world. Japanese propaganda published widely in the United States, however, tries to picture General Chiang as an irresponsible opportunist, who has accepted Communist principles in order to gain control over the Chinese nation, and who steals $50,000,000 a year from the Chinese people to store away in American banks. Madame Chiang Kai-shek is described as an ex-singsong girl of low morals and avaricious instincts.

Japanese Propaganda in America

Let us stop for a moment and examine the aim, method, scope and cost of Japanese propaganda activities in the United States.

The *aim* of this vast Japanese propaganda activity is to make the American Government forsake interest in Asia while Japan completes her domination of that continent, to induce the American people to buy more Japanese silk and manufactured articles, to invest money in Manchoukuo and the Japanese-dominated areas of China, to continue selling Japan the munitions and war supplies she must obtain from America (and can buy nowhere else), to close the eyes of the American people to the barbarous slaughter of hundreds of thousands of innocent Chinese people and to the degeneration of millions more through enforced opium and narcotic usage, and to prepare the American public for the ousting of American commercial, religious and cultural interests in China through an abandonment of the "Open Door" policy.

The *method* employed to gain these objectives is to play upon two well known American fears—the fear of war and the fear of Communism.

Japan could not fight another six months in China without American war supplies; how then could she fight China and the United States together? Commercially minded as we are, it is hardly likely we would continue to sell her munitions and war supplies if they were to be used to bomb our own cities. But when Congress considered the fortification of Guam, inspired Tokio newspaper editorials said the Japanese Navy would "smash the American fleet" if Guam were fortified. The fortification bill was defeated. Japanese propaganda strategy had worked again.

Playing likewise upon the average American's dislike and fear of Communism Japanese propagandists are spending millions to put over the supremely ridiculous story that the Japanese armed forces are only fighting the menace of Communism in China; they dearly love the Chinese people and want only to save them from Chiang Kai-shek and his Communistic "allies." Along the same lines, the propaganda mill blasts out a charge of "Communism" against all Americans

who dare to speak in favor of "China's cause." Let us examine in detail the question of Communism in China.

Toward National Unity

The Chinese Communist Party was organized early in the twenties, under the guidance of two Chinese intellectuals and a group of Russian advisers. Friction inevitably arose between the conservative and newly declared Communist members of the Kuomintang, resulting in the historic split between the two groups in 1927 when General Chiang Kai-shek broke with the Red faction, outlawed the Communist members and turned on them with his own armies. There followed a period of strife and confusion. Gangs of ruffians and outlaws roamed the countryside, calling themselves Communist or Kuomintang troops, pillaging, looting, kidnaping, preying upon the gentry and peasant alike. Unruly subordinates on both sides, leading undisciplined and ignorant troops who were nothing better than bandits, committed excesses that bore fruits of suffering to the peaceful villager caught in this unhappy situation. Some foreign missionaries were kidnaped, others disappeared, and foreign gunboats were called into action in many emergencies.

It is this trying period of storm and stress, of confusion and heartache, that the hired propagandists and pamphleteers of Japan invariably describe and magnify in their expensive literature mailed to many thousands of American schools, libraries and citizens.

Unfortunate as the results were for a year or two, it was that very break with the Soviet that saved China from Communism forever. Order was restored—the hired propagandists forget to mention it, however—and General Chiang began to organize the country on a truly national basis. By 1931, the Communists were confined mostly to one province, Kiangsi, where they set up a government and imposed their regime.

During this period, the Communist leaders learned many lessons about governing Chinese people. They learned that the type of Communism, then practiced in Russia, could never be transplanted to Chinese soil. A process of modification and compromise began and has continued for six years until now there is little difference between political and economic policies advocated and practiced in the Chinese Soviet areas and the policies of a moderately socialist state such as Sweden.

Meanwhile, the Kuomintang troops under the personal command of General Chiang Kai-shek closed in upon the Chinese Soviet leaders by the end of 1934. At one time, responsible neutral authorities estimate, General Chiang put 1,000,000 highly trained, superiorly equipped troops into the field against the Communists. Facing such overwhelming odds, the Communists resorted to the guerrilla type of warfare which was to become so useful later when a united China was fighting an overwhelmingly superior foreign invader. Slowly, inexorably, Chiang Kai-shek's legions closed in on the Reds with the determination to force them to capitulate. The Reds, however, broke through the Kuomintang lines and began their historic "Long March"—the march of the escaping ragged legions, 8,000 miles from the lush meadows of Kiangsi over the broadest valleys, the highest mountains on the Tibetan border, the swiftest rivers, the grimmest famine lands, the deadliest plague areas, the bleakest deserts, into the stark and forbidding territory of northern Shensi province which was even then in the throes of a horrible famine. During this epic march, the tatterdemalion hordes of suffering Communists were compelled to engage almost daily an army ten times their number. Razed from the air by aeroplanes, blasted from the hillsides by mountain artillery and ambushed in the valleys, multitudes perished by the sword or by the slower death of starvation, or gave up the inhuman struggle. This gigantic migration described so ably by Edgar Snow in his book, *Red Star Over China,* at least proved the heroic qualities of the Chinese race. The

Japanese will never be able to conquer a people made of such stern stuff.

Settling at last in the hills and plains of North Shensi, the Communists at once began to reconstruct. And, as history records, they determined not to revenge themselves upon the man who had driven them through the valley of the shadow of death. Their pent-up hatred was soon to be directed toward the *alien* warlord threatening to enslave their beloved land. They realized that heroic sacrifice was necessary to end the futile and costly civil wars if the nation were ever to unite against the common aggressor, Japan. Again they moderated their own political and economic program and begged the Generalissimo for a policy of national "peace within, resistance to without."

Turning Point in History

General Chiang Kai-shek, however, maintained his previous policy toward the Communists. In fact, he commanded two of his generals, the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, to renew the campaign in Shensi for the extermination of the Reds. Once more the blood and treasure of China was to be expended in civil warfare. However, the two Kuomintang generals, who held to the belief that "Chinese should not fight Chinese while a common enemy invades the fatherland," rebelled. The Generalissimo was seized and held prisoner in Sian for a fortnight. Possibly few chapters in the long history of China contain such high drama as those played on that stage in the far interior at Sianfu. From it the character of Chiang Kai-shek emerged as that of a man unswerving in his devotion to the nation. At last, on Christmas Day, 1936, the rebels released the Generalissimo and he flew back to his capital at Nanking, with one of his captors.

What followed amazed the world. A patriotic demonstration of frenzied joy broke out through the land such as old China had never witnessed in 4,000 years of recorded history. A distinguished scholar has called it "China's first national

election." Within a few hours after the leader's release, China was swept by a surging tide of mass feeling that engulfed the nation. Tons of firecrackers were exploded, cities magically appeared bedecked in flags and gay bunting, miles and miles of celebrants marched and danced through the streets the night long; every house emptied itself of young and old who rushed out to join impromptu mass meetings and torchlight parades; temples and churches overflowed with joyous worshipers, and thousands wept with grateful thanksgiving.

In the calm that followed the mass hysteria caused by the Generalissimo's release, truth had its day. The undisputed fact that the Communists had not engineered the revolt, that they disapproved of it, and that they had insisted upon his release, is conveniently overlooked by the pro-Japanese pamphleteers. They also overlook the fact that both rebels have since passed into political oblivion and that the submergence of the Chinese Communists, as an army and military entity, dated from the day of Chiang Kai-shek's release. In the following year, the Communist Party formally announced its support of the National Government on a democratic basis.

Since then the Communist Party has ceased to be "Communistic" and has given up its attempt to bolshevize China. The Communist Army has been reorganized into the Eighth Route Army under the Central Government and has written many glorious chapters in the history of China's resistance against the armed aggressor. When they fought against the overwhelmingly superior Kuomintang troops during the period of civil wars, the Communists developed guerrilla tactics to such perfection that, used now in the war against the overwhelmingly superior Japanese troops, they are surely an important factor in winning the war for China.

The success of their mobile tactics has, indeed, convinced many European military experts that trench warfare has to be modified and that future wars or battles where an inferior meets a superior force, will be of a guerrilla or mobile type.

It is important to realize that, while the word "Communist" is still used to describe the minority group in question, Communism as practiced in Russia, or as outlined by Marx and Engels is not being practiced anywhere in China today. The Chinese people by nature are neither extreme Left nor extreme Right; they are middle-of-the-roaders. In any situation of conflict, the Chinese have always tried to discover the Golden Mean as taught by their ancient sage, Confucius. The Chinese "Communists" themselves are deeply rooted in the doctrine of the Golden Mean and long ago gave up all extreme features of Marxist theories and practices.

Toward a Democratic China

As China is endeavoring to establish a truly democratic government, she permits all parties the same liberties of speech, press, assembly, and belief. *All political parties enjoy the same rights and privileges of citizenship, as long as they do not attempt to overthrow the Government.* If any party undertook to overthrow the National Government, naturally it would be outlawed and suppressed.

The Chinese "Communist" groups, like Communistic minorities in the United States, Great Britain, and France, are allowed to enjoy the liberties of speech, press, assembly and belief.

About a year ago, the Chinese Government inaugurated the People's Political Council, to which delegates from all parties and provinces were elected. *This Council or Congress now serves as a popular policy-determining body, in which the wishes of the people can be expressed and carried out through their representatives.* This is one of the significant steps toward the establishment of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, taken by the present rulers of China.

Gradually, the Chinese Government is becoming more and more democratic, and the people are strongly supporting the

program of the Government, for the interests of the Government and those of the people have become identical. Both the Government and the people are united in a great struggle for national independence and liberty.

The Truly National Front

China has now formed a truly National Front on a democratic basis. It is not a "Popular Front" or "United Front" of only the left-wing or radical parties and groups, with conservative, religious and other interests barred or suppressed. In China, it is a National Front of bankers, industrialists, liberals, conservatives, farmers, workers, landed gentry, intellectuals, military, religious groups, Socialists, so-called Communists, so-called reactionaries and every class and type of Chinese.

During the World War when the American Government was drafting men for the trenches, recruits were not barred from service because they were former Socialists or I. W. W.'s. Shoulder to shoulder, as Americans, the whole nation fought. Many a son of a lumber baron faced death with a former I. W. W. organizer against a common enemy. Who, then, can blame the Chinese for fighting side by side in a national struggle and leaving aside ideological and class differences for the salvation of their nation and their race? Who, but a traitor or an enemy, would want to see Chinese fight Chinese in a period of life-and-death struggle against a foreign invader?

The entire Chinese people are united in this National Front against the savagery of Japanese destruction, and in this Front the former Chinese Communists are far from gaining control and show no evidence of seeking to gain control of the Chinese Government.

A look at the personnel of the Chinese Cabinet reveals not one Communist or former Communist member. Dr. H. H. Kung, a descendant of Confucius, a graduate of Oberlin College and Yale University, is Premier and Finance Minister.

Dr. Wang Chung-hui, D.C.L., from Yale, former Judge at the Permanent Court of International Justice. Dr. W. H. Wong, Ph.D., of a Belgian University, Professor in Tsinghua University, is the Minister of Economics.

The National Defense Council, the supreme civil body of the country, headed by General Chiang Kai-shek, is composed entirely of Kuomintang Party members, without one Communist or ex-Communist. What attitude have the "Communists" taken to this "ignoring" of their members? The Associated Press quoted a leading Communist Party leader as saying that the Council's one-Party organization "would probably give stronger unity in defense, toward which all Chinese parties are striving." The *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent reported that the "Communists" have "never regarded appointment of their men to official position or to even minor jobs as worth while because they knew they will have no chance to shape Government policies in any major degree through the mere acceptance of a few probably minor offices."

The same correspondent stated that "China's Communists are reported to be showing a notably modest attitude since the fall of Hankow. They have abandoned their rather challenging stand before Hankow and now they announce that they do not demand the appointment of Communists to high Government positions."

How "Red" Are the So-called Communists?

"You ask about Communists in one letter," Madame Chiang Kai-shek wrote in a letter to a Catholic friend in America. "Virtually there is no Communism in China if by that you mean people under the influence of the Third International. A year-and-a-half before we finished with the campaign against the Communists, the Soviet had withdrawn support from the so-called Communists in China. There is no Communism now in China as it is thought of by outsiders. The so-called Communist armies take orders from the General-

issimo just like any other force. The Third International gives no orders.

"Also China has no deal with Moscow. Indeed, the Russian attitude toward China is exactly similar to the attitude of the so-called Imperialists. Russia no more wants to make an outward show of helping China than does America. Both seem to be animated by the one idea, *i. e.*, to sell equipment for cash—and be sure of getting the cash first! We have to pay for Russian planes as we have to pay for American planes. We have to pay for Russian volunteers to fly as well as for Americans. In fact, the Americans were so troublesome that we had to disband the few that we had here. The Russians, at one time, asked for the same salaries as the American instructors but they later modified their demands. So if there is any difference between the so-called Communists and the so-called Imperialists with regard to their attitude toward China at this time I, for one, am unable to detect it."

A Catholic priest who has travelled extensively in the guerrilla areas and among the so-called Communist armies must be admitted to be a competent witness on the subject of Communism in China.

"The Eighth Route (former Communist) Army has entirely given up its belief in Communism, its only belief now being in the sanctity of the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of China as an independent nation which it has risen like one man to defend." So spoke Father Lebbe upon his return from a tour of Eighth Route Army areas. "All thoughts of their former doctrine are now lost in the one concentrated thought of resisting the Japanese aggressors."

Bishop Jantzen, of the diocese of Chungking, writing in the *Brooklyn Tablet*, a Catholic weekly, declared that "China is not Communistic, nor is there any such a tendency. . . . How can one fairly allege that a whole nation has embraced Communism because a small number of its people are interested in that doctrine?"

Captain Evans Carlson, U. S. Marine intelligence officer, who visited every section of the Chinese front and traveled extensively in the Eighth Route Army territories, replied to a question regarding Communist Army activities, thus:

"But how can you still call them Communists or Communist Armies? They have even given up that name. Their doctrine is no longer Communism—it might be most accurately described as a doctrine somewhere between Democracy and a mild sort of Socialism."

Statements by other leading authorities and observers, in China, are appended at the end of this pamphlet.

Who Wields the "Red" Brush on China?

Neutral, responsible, creditable witnesses who have visited China any time during the hostilities are unanimous in denouncing the malicious libel that China is a Communistic state or is under the domination of the Chinese Communist Party. They deplore the use of the label "Communist Army," in describing the former Communist groups, but realize that years may be required to overcome the habit of using that convenient label. Many left-wing speakers and writers also enjoy using that obsolete term in connection with the Eighth Route Army and the "Special Areas" behind the Japanese lines but they have no more right to use such an adjective than the Japanese propagandists themselves.

Examine the credentials of the next speaker, or writer, or pamphleteer whom you hear prating about the "menace of Communism" in China and about Japan's heroic fight to exterminate the evil from Asia. Has he visited China since the Communists forsook their fight against the Kuomintang? Has he been in China during the past three years to bear personal witness to the transformation of a great people into a heroic and united nation? Has he walked among the ruined Chinese villages and talked with some of the destitute Chinese people —there are 30,000,000 of them—who are dying from lack of

food, or from an overabundance of bombs made with American raw materials? Has he talked with China's leaders and discovered they are fighting and dying for the Communistic principle rather than for a free Chinese nation? In fact, has he ever been in China? Or has he been to Japan and Manchuria only, at the invitation of the Japanese Government?

Not one of the chief Japanese protagonists—Ralph Townsend, David Warren Ryder, Frederick V. Williams, Frederick J. Moore, Don Bate, Andrew Campbell, Vincent Paul Walsh, Carroll P. Lunt, Robert A. Wright, Franklin H. Chino, Mrs. Winifred Anne Bentz, Wendel P. Colton, James E. Edmonds, R. W. K. Mallett, W. E. B. Du Bois—has been in free China since the war began although some have visited Japan on funds provided by the Japanese military through various "tourist agencies."

The law requiring foreign propagandists to register with the State Department smoked out a number of paid Japanese agents who previously had "donated" their services on behalf of Japan. It was found that Frederick V. Williams—who was heard telling a Catholic school gathering that Madame Chiang Kai-shek was an ex-singsong girl and General Chiang had sold out to the Reds at Sian—was receiving $300 a month from the "Japanese Committee on Trade and Information." Don Bate was another typical example of paid Japanese propagandists who was compelled to register with the Department of State.

There were many others. Some were clever enough to avoid registration but nevertheless receive money from Japanese sources.

"Take Ralph Townsend, for example," the Institute of Propaganda Analysis points out. "Mr. Townsend publishes his writings himself; and he insists that he isn't getting money from Japan for them. Patriotism, not money, is his inspiration, he says, pointing out that his name cannot be found on the official State Department list of foreign propagandists.

This is true. Actually, the Japanese aren't paying Mr. Townsend to write the pamphlets, and they aren't giving him the money to publish them. However, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco buys the pamphlets and sends out thousands of them."

These same tactics are employed by other propagandists, like David Warren Ryder, author of *Red Cloud Over Asia.*

A certain individual who claimed "control" over dozens of "patriotic" societies in America, last year sold his services to the Japanese Chamber of Commerce for $5,000 a month. Immediately after an agreement was concluded, several "patriotic" organizations and publications unloosed a barrage of vilification against China and branded all who spoke for justice to China as Communistic-inspired. These groups did not register because they did not receive Japanese blood-money directly but the man who "controls" them received his thirty pieces of silver.

Writing to Dr. Roy H. Akagi of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in New York City, to explain his program, this certain party stated, "Our activities would be to discredit the opposition to your institution. Just as an adroit lawyer wins many cases through discrediting the opposition's witnesses, just so can the public mind be influenced by discrediting your attackers. You know and we know that those who attack Japan are without exception the Left Wing element of our country. When this point is brought out to the real Americans, there will be a tidal wave of sentiment in favor of the Japanese cause. . . . Mr. ——— is the undisputed leader in America against subversive activities and others of our staff are widely known in this connection. . . . We are willing to execute this program at a price of $5,000 a month, which will include all expenses except the cost of printing and mailing any reprints in large quantities."

The Department of Justice is now probing into the activities and accounts of this particular person but there are many

others whose connections with Japanese blood-money have not yet been traced, but who are just as earnestly and assiduously smearing and discrediting China and China's friends for no nobler purpose.

Why Doesn't Japan Fight Russia?

One is entitled to ask, if Japan is really interested in fighting Communism, why doesn't she wage war against Soviet Russia? She has declared often enough that Russia is her mortal enemy. She has repeatedly told us that she wants to save the Far East from Communism. If such were her real policy, Japan would be fighting Russia where the Communist Party is in control. Instead she is fighting General Chiang Kai-shek who for ten long years used every resource of his nation to fight Communists. Virtually all the so-called "Communist" areas are *behind* the Japanese lines but her bombing planes are leveling the cities and villages in free China where the Kuomintang Party, dedicated to the establishment of a government of the people, by the people and for the people, is the exclusive Party.

General Chiang Kai-shek summed up in a recent address to the Kuomintang Party Council the intentions of the Japanese.

"The truth remains that Japan entered the anti-Comintern Pact, and into 'joint opposition to Communism' neither to combat Communism nor Soviet Russia, but to make use of that pretext in destroying China. If it contains any element of being directed against Russia, it is a very tiny constituent; the overwhelming element is aimed at the destruction of China. If not, and if the point were Japan's national defense against Soviet Russia, then wherefore, during the Changkufeng Affair, did the Japanese Ambassador at Moscow retreat and finally yield so ingloriously before the Soviet Russian Foreign Minister? We can be sure that the 'anti-Communism' now brought up by Japan is merely for use in deceiving world perception abroad, and her own nationals at home."

It is clear that Japan is not fighting any such doctrine as Communism, but is fighting the Chinese people who have overthrown the old monarchical regime and are endeavoring to establish a modern democracy on a sound intelligent basis.

The "menace of Communism" is a convenient pretext under which Japan is waging a most ruthless and brutal warfare against innocent Chinese men, women and children. This type of propaganda serves as an ideological camouflage behind which Japan can launch an aggressive campaign for the political domination and economic exploitation of the Chinese nation and to befool and befuddle the American people as to her real intent.

Japan's War Against Religion

"Japan is much more likely to go Red than China," said Sir Victor Sassoon, British banker and head of a great financial organization in Shanghai, when he visited the United States earlier this year.

Signs are not lacking that the capitalistic system is on the wane in Japan. The increasing restrictions on private trade, the growing tendency toward abolition of private enterprise in favor of state monopolies—and the restrictions on free Christian worship. In China, the Japanese armed forces have destroyed, pillaged, burned and looted churches and missions on every hand.

Chinese Christians are never safe from torture. The number of foreign priests, missionaries and teachers who have been killed by Japanese troops is not known and the total loss of property cannot be computed.

Losses in excess of $2,000,000 were suffered by the Catholic missions of Shanghai alone, due to damage to its churches, schools, hospitals, residences and other properties, by the invading Japanese forces, according to an American Jesuit Father who made a careful survey of these damages. The Catholic center in Paotingfu, Hopei, one of the best in China,

was totally destroyed by Japanese bombs. The Catholic hospital at the West Gate was struck by Japanese bombs six times. Thirty bombs were dropped at different times on the Cathedral in Hsienhsien, Hopei. The big church at Kashing was totally destroyed from the air by Japanese bombers, and eighty infants in the Catholic home there were killed. The story goes on and on. Protestant missions, schools, churches, hospitals received equally careful Japanese attention.

The same view—that Japan is nearer Communism than China—was expressed by the noted French journalist, M. Jean Reynaud, who was sent to China and Japan to study this particular phase of the war and its consequences.

On behalf of three newspapers in Paris, *La Croix, L'Aube* and *Le Temps,* he reported that economic conditions in Japan have reached such a stage, with the masses seething under army oppression, and labor clashing with capital, that a social revolution is bound to occur if the Sino-Japanese war continues for long.

"If there be any danger of Communism in Asia, it is in Japan and not in China," he said.

Not one observer who has lived in China or observed China at close hand since the Sian *coup d'etat,* when the Communists forsook their former program and policies, holds the view that there is any danger of Communism in that country.

In China, the worship of God and Jesus Christ is encouraged. Christian missionaries are close advisers of General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Government has encouraged, financially and otherwise, the great service rendered by the Chinese Catholic War Relief Society of the National Association of Chinese Catholics, and all Catholics in China have become united in the war service society under the direction of their local bishops. His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, gave generous sums for war relief work in stricken China.

Thus we see that there is not one particle of truth in the Japanese allegations of Communist domination in China. This "menace" lies entirely within the minds of people under the influence of Japanese propaganda. Even the Japanese war lords in China know that the danger of China becoming Communist disappeared many years ago. This knowledge, however, does not prevent them from using Communism as a pretext for their invasion.

Western Aid to China

While a few score Americans sell their souls to the Japanese propaganda masterminds in this country, hundreds of thousands of other Americans have dug down into their pockets to contribute toward the relief of the intense suffering of the Chinese people. The words of our Lord, "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me," are meaningless to the hired Japanese agents in America, but ring with a clarion call to the hearts of the American people.

Even as the people of this country give to the cause, so has the American Government aided the Chinese in their struggle for freedom and life. Both the United States and Great Britain have not only condemned Japanese barbarism in China but have actually extended credits to China to facilitate her communication system and commerce.

Western Aid to Japan

Japanese shrapnel and bomb fragments plucked from the living flesh of wounded Chinese women and children are made from American scrap iron. Moreover, Americans are not helping the Japanese people by supplying munitions to Japan. They are only helping the Japanese militarists tighten their death-grip on the Japanese common people and deal out murder and rapine on the common people of China. Japan does not need American relief funds for medical aid to

wounded Japanese civilians. Chinese bombers flying over Japanese cities drop—leaflets. Chinese leaflets do not kill and maim Japanese peasants and workers.

We buy "Made in Japan" goods so that the Japanese war lords can get money to buy more murder weapons. We sell Japan the scrap iron, steel, oil, aviation gasoline and other war supplies to slaughter Chinese noncombatants as well as heroic Chinese defenders.

China Free and Unconquered

Japan needed a quick victory in her assault on China. Because she failed to crush the Chinese Government within the three months predicted by her arrogant war lords in the beginning, she has already lost the war. Time is always on China's side. Patiently and stanchly, the Chinese nation struggles onward and upward.

China has many grave problems to be solved, but Communism has ceased to be one since 1936. The possibility of China becoming a Communistic state passed as early as 1927. In any case, China has the right to work out her own salvation. The Chinese Communist Party was a vocal but numerically small group (similar to the Communist Party in this country) when the Japanese destroyed the first village with bombs made from American materials. Could America solve its Communist problem easier or quicker if Mexico or Canada, using Communism as a pretext, were to destroy our capital, ravage one-fourth of our countryside, bomb our cities and towns indiscriminately, pillage and loot our homes, assault our women, compel our adherence to a fake anti-Comintern Pact and garrison troops in our important cities?

Be on Your Guard

Be on your guard against the smooth-tongued propaganda agent in the pay of Japan, even though he has disguised his

subsidy under a layer of legal technicalities. Compel him to give you an honest answer to your question whether he has ever been in free China since the war started, or has ever been in China at all. Press him for the source of his information that China is Communistic or Communistic-inclined. Ask him who pays his lecture fees, his traveling expenses, his office overhead, his publishing costs. Ask him how many of his pamphlets the Japanese buy and distribute.

He may be an honest, credulous soul, himself deluded by Japanese propaganda, but you may be sure that in the background, his source of information springs from material inspired by the Japanese war lords and their civil henchmen.

Who pays for this gigantic Japanese propaganda machine in the United States? Whence comes the money to hire big-shot racketeers to blanket the United States with propaganda designed to stir up American hatred toward the Chinese nation and the Chinese leaders, to make us believe we should fear "Communistic China" and not "peace-loving Japan"?

The money for the leasing of 10,000 feet of office space in Rockefeller Center as headquarters for the propaganda machine, the money to hire high-salaried American public relations firms as well as $300 a month agents, the money to send American school teachers and business men to Japan on junketing tours, the money to print and distribute beautifully engraved "travel" literature, to subsidize speakers who receive "fees" from lecture agencies with the other hand, the money to maintain the greatest espionage system in this country of any foreign nation, the money to hire American traitors to spy on our army and navy, and to support the whole vicious Japanese network in America comes from the Japanese people. It is wrung from the sweat and the blood of the Japanese peasant, farmer, worker, small business man and his family, who are already staggering under a brutal burden of taxation to pay for the Japanese military adventure in China.

The ever-recurring theme song of this $5,000,000 Japanese

propaganda organization, attuned to Japanese army policy in China, is "Communism."

"China is Communistic! China's leaders are Communists! Communistic China menaces world peace! Americans who cry out against the anguish and suffering of the Chinese people are Communists! Those who refuse to buy Japanese goods, sold in competition with American-manufactured goods, are Communists!"

How many Americans have listened with fear and trepidation to this inspired Hymn of Hate against old China?

Be on your guard!

APPENDICES

THE COMMUNIST QUESTION IN CHINA

His Excellency Bishop Yu-pin, having received requests from many sources for a definite statement on the actual situation in China concerning the possible danger of Communism, forwarded the following communication to the Chekiai Agency; it has been widely copied in the Press.

Twelve years ago there was a real danger of Communism in China, spread throughout the country by Russian propagandists under the cloak of re-education of the Chinese people and of helping them to stand up against the unjust treatment from which they were suffering. The heads of the Chinese Government, however, saw the trap, and in 1927 the national party Kuomintang rose against the contamination of its ranks. Shortly afterwards the Government and the party began a campaign of military repression which lasted for eight years, uninterrupted even by the Japanese invasion of 1931, the occupation of Manchuria or the bloody battle of Shanghai (January-February, 1932). When, in 1934, the central and southern parts of China had been definitely freed and Communism relegated to Shansi, it was no longer necessary to continue this phase of military action; a vigilant watch was sufficient.

During its campaign of repression the Government armies lost one hundred thousand men.

In December, 1936, the ambush of Sian-Fu and the unprecedented evidences of national unity to which it gave rise, showed the whole country the true face of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's policy and

that of the Government. The great majority of the Communist Party were shaken by it and realized the error they had made in interpreting as anti-patriotic the policy of national unification and of temporization as regards Japanese aggression. Shortly afterwards, Communist propaganda and the policy of expropriation preached by the Communist Party were abandoned. The "Chinese Soviet Government" was abolished. Daily the rally to the national program gained ground and the forces of the old Red Army, reorganized, took their place within the national army, in accordance with the wise ordering of the country's only Government. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek seized the opportunity afforded by the spirit of good will which prevailed, and took every step which prudence dictated to encourage the return to the national fold of those whose political activities had been so seriously affected by an error of judgment. The Chinese Communist chiefs, realizing the "impossible" character of their program, showed courage equal to their good faith; they went back on their tracks and gave themselves to the service of the country, co-operating sincerely with the Government. Actually there is no longer organized Communist propaganda in China. The few intellectuals and young people who have remained Marxist dilletantes are comparatively very much fewer in number than are the Communists in many other countries; today they by no means constitute a public danger warranting military repression. The Communist movement in China is definitely checked and suppressed.

It is therefore quite plain that China is *in no way* Communist. I am happy to be able to go still further in my assertion and to state: China is *in no danger of becoming Communist.*

Our Government knows our people. For twelve years now, sometimes by force, sometimes by persuasion, it has pursued its methodical, determined way in exterminating the evil of Communism, knowing when to strike but knowing also how to heal. Chiang Kai-shek is considered by the Third International as the worst of its enemies and, in this, the Third International is not mistaken. The crusade for re-education of the masses, which Communism brought in, is gradually making headway, and the institution of an official anti-Communist Day, to be celebrated throughout the country, recalls annually to the whole population the danger into which attempts had been made to drag them. This crusade takes its most stable form in the magnificent "New Life Movement" founded by the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and which, I cannot sufficiently emphasize, is a marvelous instrument for social education on a moral and spiritual basis. It is to the honor of our Government that it has understood so well and in the right scale of values the needs of our country.

As to the people, they also have been anxious to help themselves.

Ours is a nation of small agricultural proprietors. In China there are no very rich people. There are vast numbers of small savers, and these people have quite simply a horror of expropriation, and their mentality is the antithesis of Marxist.

Their mentality, their customs and traditions possess a deep-seated

stahility, which for five thousand years has resisted all upheavals and which today disposes our people to he moderate in their material aspirations, to preserve the henefits of peace and an appreciation of the sanctifying value of healthy work, and to utilize in this spirit modern technical progress, which is greatly ameliorating the conditions of life in our country.

The Communist conception of life is incomprehensihle to this simple, soher people, moral, smiling and obliging, which sees in the family and the family spirit the basis of its institutions, which recognizes in the father of the family an authority worthy of absolute respect, and in filial piety a virtue, the greatest of all, the effect of which encompasses the human heart.

Everywhere in China where Communism was successful there has heen popular reaction and disillusionment in proportion to the success itself. Through its own aherrations and the reactions which it caused, Communist doctrine has succeeded in shutting against itself the heart and mind of the Chinese people. Even the soil of our country rejects such seed.

In spite of all this, it is enough for a Chinese to be a patriot for him to hecome on the lips of the Japanese militarists, a Communist and a hrigand.

In order to defend themselves morally against such a series of attacks, the Chinese have reinforced their own capacity for sacrifice and the spirit of their national dignity. In order to defend herself materially, China is huying armaments wherever she can, and for these armaments she pays, hut there are countries which, faced with the might of Japan, have not even the courage to do husiness, especially when it is a case of helping the weak to defend themselves. In the tragic circumstances in which she finds herself, China is more than glad to receive any material help, wherever it may come from. She has made a non-aggression pact with Russia: this pact was lawful in itself and was necessitated hy sad experience in the eight years of our anti-Communist military campaign, in the course of which, in spite of the strong anti-Communist pronouncements made hy the Japanese militarists, the Communist and the Japanese attacks always occurred simultaneously, indicating a carefully thought-out plan.

Enlightened hy the experience of these last twelve years, China has been ahle to share fairly the complex and imperious duties which have been imposed on her.

She has distinguished hetween principles and people. She has reproduced in her conduct an attitude which is analogous to that which one finds at every step in the history of the Catholic Church. Uncompromising in her principles, lenient in the case of individuals, she has entrenched herself hehind the stern practice of those moral teachings which inspire the whole of her national tradition and permeate the form and views of her Government.

At the same time she has, hy her wisdom, recalled her strayed sons to the unity of their country. This generous attitude on the part of

the Government authorities recalls the affectionate feelings of Pius XI, summed up by a great French Bishop, Cardinal Liénart, when he said: "Let us remain as we are and hold out our hand to all."

Finally, China has never desired to insult anyone, whoever he might be, by refusing the help of a neighbor coming to rescue the victim of an assault. There is no law, even in the case of a Samaritan, against humanity and charity; *a fortiori,* the wounded man, robbed and left half dead by the roadside, cannot be expected to refuse the help that a stranger may bring him.

When at the moment ordained by God, Japanese militarism will receive just punishment for its crimes and follies, the false accusation which it has brought against its victim will go down in history as a terrible stain on its honor, for it knows that its utterances are untrue.

As to China, by the grace of God she is morally in command of the struggle which she is enduring. Calumnies are dispersing and the assailant is beginning to find the Chinese rock hard. We are struggling for our liberty and independence; we are suffering and dying for the cause of public morality itself, of the sanctity of treaties, of justice and peace.

Thus doing, the people of China speak. They speak through their sacrifices and their deaths. They speak through their spiritual life; and all those who know that the spirit is conqueror of the flesh, are convinced that the force of arms will never have the last word against the Right that is ours.

BISHOP YU-PIN AGAIN DISCUSSES COMMUNISM IN CHINA

In an article entitled "An Interview with Bishop Yu-pin," which appeared in "The Commonweal," April 7, 1939, His Excellency made the following statement concerning Communism in China.

You are quite right in saying that the question of Communism in China is one which is paramount in the minds of persons outside of the Far East. There are two reasons for this. The Japanese, through extremely efficient and unscrupulous propaganda, have been reiterating a million times the idea that they are forced to invade China in order to prevent the spread of Communism. In addition to this, Communists in other countries have unwittingly bolstered up this Japanese propaganda by making claims that they would have difficulty in substantiating. Thus we constantly hear from Communists or their sympathizers that the Eighth Route Army is entirely Communist. It is true that this army has Communists among its leaders, but it is equally true that the rank and file are not Communists, but merely patriotic Chinese who have entered the only military service available to them.

As long ago as 1931, when Communism was more of a danger in China than it has been since, the Chinese bishops in their joint letter said: "We also believe it to be necessary in the highest degree for the peace of the world that China should not be submerged by Bolshevism.

But we are persuaded that Muscovite propaganda has no more faithful ally in our country than the aggressive imperialism of our bellicose neighbors. In a nation as naturally unsympathetic as ours to Communism (a peaceful, agricultural people with whom class hatred does not exist) only the misery of the humble and the indignant rancor of the rulers could provoke that despairing reaction which would lead to union with the Bolshevists."

Our Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is a Christian, and has fought Communism for years. The Vicar Apostolic of Shanghai, a Frenchman and a Jesuit, the Most Reverend Auguste Haouissée, said this of Chiang Kai-shek in a pastoral letter: "God has given us in the Generalissimo a commander indeed: 'a great man.' An energetic and prudent negotiator, he not only foresees and desires the true welfare of China, but at Sian-Fu—whilst meditating on the Passion of Christ to strengthen his own courage—he was able to choose death rather than betrayal, and at the right moment, replied to demands of altogether too sweeping a nature, by fearlessly refusing to draw back a step."

I have already mentioned the fact that in a country where Christians of every sort account for less than one per cent of the population, the governing National Political Council has a membership which is one-third Christian. So much for the allegation that China is ruled by Communists.

I do not believe that in all China today there are many more than 10,000 convinced followers of Karl Marx. Most of these are young intellectuals; most of them are Stalinists. If you will consider the numbers of Communists in other countries which are predominantly Christian, I think you will agree with me that even if this number were doubled or trebled, there is proportionately less Communism in China than in almost any other country in the world.

Surely it is impossible to conceive that the hearty support of all the Chinese hierarchy and missioners—made manifest to the whole world—could be given to a government which is in any way Communist, or that a Communist government would name a member of the Catholic hierarchy to be its envoy in the interests of 30,000,000 of its most desperately needy citizens. Let our fellow Christians throughout the world consider, on this subject, which they should prefer—the propaganda of our enemies and of the Communists themselves, or the testimony of the Chinese Catholic bishops.

PEACE, WAR AND COMMUNISM IN CHINA AS VIEWED BY ANOTHER CATHOLIC BISHOP

The following letter by His Excellency, Most Rev. Louis Gabriel Jantzen of Chungking, China, appeared in "The Tablet," weekly organ of the Catholic diocese of Brooklyn, April 8, 1939.

The Pope was mindful of world peace even when he was breathing his last. I have worked in China for twenty-eight years and I am especially anxious to see peace restored soon in this land. Every nation is

desirous of a righteous and just peace. To fulfill such hopes there is only the honorable and just peace which guarantees freedom and equality. This is the only genuine peace and the peace that the late Pope sought from all nations in the world which should not be confounded with any other form of peace loosely construed.

In recent years, the late Pope consistently urged in sermons and papal bulls just and righteous peace among nations. To protect the small and weak nations, His Holiness did not hesitate to censor the inhuman and violent aggressive nations for their ruthlessness. Against the violent aggressors, His Holiness repeatedly invoked God's wrath in the name of justice and righteousness. Last September when strife seemed imminent in Europe, His Holiness prayed and offered His own life to God as a sacrifice for peace.

Honorable and just peace is desired by the Chinese people. China is aware that materially she is not equal to her enemy, but the solidarity of the entire nation, without distinction of party or class, and the unity of thought, have enabled her to resist her enemy for more than eighteen months. Without counting costs and sacrifices, China has fought with determination to seek liberty, emancipation, and honorable peace for her people and for the nation. For these objects, China's rank and file have willingly risked all dangers and made gallant sacrifices, and her blameless people have forsaken all their possessions. The bitterness and hardships, however, tend only to strengthen China's determination to go on resisting.

That the Chinese people have been able to offer united and resolute resistance is ample proof that they have a just cause. Before the war commenced, there were differences between China's political parties, but after the Lukouchiao incident, all party incompatibilities disappeared. All parties since then have, under the guidance of the Central Government, been directing their activities against Japan. Most astonishing was the fact that the Communists, steady opponents of the government and those whom Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek tried for three years to subjugate, voluntarily accepted the leadership of the government in the joint task of resistance. For this reason, inspired publicists have made it their business to accuse China of yielding to Communism, and going Red!

According to my own observation, China is not Communistic, nor is there such a tendency. I have evidence to prove my assertion. I have lived in this country a long time and my experience and knowledge of Chinese laws, politics, education, customs, nature of the people and their thoughts, and social conditions, show conclusively that China is far from being Communistic. I can safely say that China will not take to Communism even in the future. Of course in countries where people enjoy freedom of thought, socialist doctrines may be freely discussed. That is true even in countries where freedom of thought is nominally denied. How can one fairly allege that a whole nation has embraced Communism because a small number of its people are interested in that doctrine?

It is true that China has a Communist Party just as many other countries have. But in China, the number of followers is relatively small. To allege that China has gone Red is equivalent to giving circulation to mendacious lies. Nothing is further from truth.

THE MAN BEHIND CHINA'S GUNS

Mr. John Gunther, author of "Inside Europe" and "Inside Asia," wrote as follows about Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in the April issue of "Current History," 1939.

Chiang Kai-shek has united China (with help from Japan!) more than any man in centuries of history. . . .

Physically rather slight, Chiang carries himself with a curious elastic grace. His eyes are remarkable: very dark gray, deep, piercing, and never at rest. . . .

Madame (everywhere in China she is known simply as Madame) is exceptionally good-looking and extremely *chic*. She went to Wellesley, and is perhaps a bit more Americanized than her sisters. . . . Her courageous devotion to China and Chiang is beyond dispute. She goes everywhere; she does everything; she is like Mrs. Roosevelt. When an air raid comes, Madame Chiang drives up to the scene, sometimes in slacks or any costume, to superintend the care of the wounded. . . .

Chiang Kai-shek, after thirty years of revolution and civil war, has become the symbol of Chinese unity, the personification of Chinese resistance against Japan. The Japanese know this very well; they have announced that if they capture him he will be decapitated.

Probably Chiang is the strongest Chinese individual since the great days of the third century B. C. when the Great Wall was built. His friends say that he is happier now than they have ever known him, more poised, more confident. It is not hard to guess the reason. He himself is now trying to build another Great Wall—a wall to keep the Japanese out, to permit China an authentic national development, to allow China to belong to the Chinese. He is fighting a foreign invader, and not his own people.